*White folks will continue to re-group around the defense of the amerikkkan Way, so long as the threats, the crises, the cutting off of limbs remains outside u.s. borders. The empire won't fall until its **CENTER** is crushed.*

On Concrete Solidarity

Towards the Liberation of the Black Nation: Organize for New Afrikan People's War!

by Bakari Shanna

minute spent reading Cabral (or a number of others), answers the question:

> To end up with, I should like to make one last point about solidarity between the international working-class movement and our national liberation struggle. There are two alternatives: either we admit that there really is a struggle against imperialism which interests everybody, or we deny it. If, as would seem from all the evidence, imperialism exists and is trying simultaneously to dominate the working class in all the advanced countries and smother the national liberation movements in all the underdeveloped countries, then there is only one enemy against whom we are fighting. If we are fighting together, then I think the main aspect of our solidarity is extremely simple: it is to fight—I don't think there is any need to discuss this very much. We are struggling in Guinea with guns in our hands, you must struggle in your countries as well—I don't say with guns in your hands, I'm not going to tell you how to struggle, that's your business; but you must find the best means and the best forms of fighting against our common enemy: this is the best form of solidarity. There are, of course, other secondary forms of solidarity: publishing material, sending medicine, etc. I can guarantee you that if tomorrow we make a breakthrough and you are engaged in armed struggle against imperialism in Europe we will send you some medicine too.

In Revolutionary Solidarity

Bakari Shanna
2/11/1978
Stateville
Koncentration
Kamp

Originally published in *Notes from an Afrikan P.O.W. Journal book two: We Still Charge Genocide*

Cover from a pamphlet published by the New Afrikan Institute of Political Education, 1982

They knew caesar while searching for a new, shorter route to the east. They knew him while "bringing civilization" to the amerikkkan west. While throwing tea in the harbor, over-seeing the plantation and while building trains that would run from ocean to ocean.

Life was always added to caesar's reign by the citizens and mercenaries of the empire, as they rushed to defend the frontiers and colonial possessions by suppressing movements towards freedom. There was no need to "inject" so-called racism into the "oppressed working class," cause there was already first allegiance to caesar, a love of rome, and the desire to maintain the privileges made possible by suppressing the provinces and colonies.

Again, the only thing that will end the reign of caesar and bring an end to the empire, is the liberation of New Afrika and other oppressed nations **INSIDE** the u.s.

The only way to achieve even a semblance of a permanent and qualitative break of grip on external possessions is to break de chains internally. Only when amerikkka collapses in the **CENTER**, will her grip on the world be broken. Like a man standing on a ledge, gripping the window frame. The ledge gives way, he may hang for a while, but soon he'll lose his grip, the force of gravity will pull him, cause he'll have nothing to stand on (our backs).

No foundation means no balance, means the inability to re-form, cause the pressure on internal organs, the "working class"—absent the foundation, the material basis, for privileges—will be unavoidably forced to confront caesar.

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It don't take a lot to make it clear as to the responsibility of the so-called white left in the struggle. And it's not even necessary for us to spend time formulating theories and suggestions. Less than a

The key to the destruction of the empire lies stirring **WITHIN** it. Not outside. The head and heart, brain and nerves—all vital organs essential to the perpetuation of life—are all **INSIDE**, not outside.

What will be critical, what is fundamental and essential for the initiation of a socialist WORLD, is the eventual liberation of New Afrika, and other oppressed nations **INSIDE** the belly of the amerikkkan empire.

Not 1917 or 1978 Russia. Not 1949 or 1978 China. Not Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe or Azania; not Brazil, Chile—neither these nor any other place outside the belly of the empire will alone or together *TRULY* free the world from the grips and threats of amerikkkan capitalism, imperialism, colonialism or neo-colonialism.

They may help. They will cause change of conditions and create a climate offering greater potential, higher probabilities and increased chances of success...but until the head and heart, brain and nerves—until the vital organs are destroyed, the empire will simply re-adjust. Re-form. Make new alliances. It will change form, but it will live—so long as New Afrika is subjugated. So long as Puerto Rico is a colony or neo-colony. So long as Native Nations don't have sovereignty over their lands and lives.

White folks will continue to re-group around the defense of the amerikkkan Way, so long as the threats, the crises, the cutting off of limbs remains outside u.s. borders. The empire won't fall until its **CENTER** is crushed.

The birth of the empire was not Vietnam. It was "17th century amerikkka." The first true subjects of the empire were Native Nations and Afrikans. amerikkka **MEANS** "empire." It has known no other life. Has never been anything else.

Folks inside the u.s. still too heavily think of imperialism as something externally happening. White folks especially—even so-called progressives, radicals, revolutionaries, m-l's and communists—all think and act as if imperialism exists outside u.s. borders. As if all they have to do is "support" and cheer the Vietnamese, the South Amerikans, and other folks outside amerikkka for the beast to die, and for there to be "peace & love" and for the proletariat's dictatorship over the workers' state to be real. **WITH NO PAIN!**

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The historical question for the Afrikan held captive in amerikkka—and, to a much larger extent than We truly grasp now—the historical question for the world, has not been "two fold." There have been stages, changes, levels and phases in the process. The process has its (relative) beginning at the point of enslavement. **FROM** independence—**TO** independence. Loss of freedom—regaining of freedom. National subjugation—national liberation. **ONE PROCESS**. More than one stage in the development of the process.

If We can dig this, then We add: the only qualification is to be made for the birth of **NEW** Afrika. A nation given shape by and thru oppression and exploitation.

Afrikans of various nationalities/tribes becoming a **NEW**... Afrikan...nation, "cemented by the essentially homogenous Afrikan cultural background and an essentially homogenous oppression."

The cement was, yeah, common blood and color. But it was more. The cement was really common experience. Common history. A tradition which **developed**, rooted not simply in the past, but **DEVELOPED** under the circumstances of colonial domination. There was Afrikan tradition (pre-european invasion and enslavement). Then there was **NEW** Afrikan tradition, characterized

by the struggle to break de chains.

You don't separate the development of capitalism from the invasion of Afrika. But it's deeper. Deeper, cause you don't really separate the development of capitalism, english/european/amerikkkan imperialism, from not simply the invasion of Afrika, **BUT FROM THE ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRIKANS, THEIR KIDNAPPING AND TRANSPORT**.

The european/euro-amerikkkan slave trade is what "guaranteed" the development of capitalism. And We mean, guaranteed it **AS WE NOW KNOW IT**—which is the only reality. Capitalism as We know it to be, in present and past form. Which is to say that, no matter the internal struggles in europe, among europeans, between those who ruled and those who were ruled, between serfs and lords, etc.—no matter these influences—what cemented and gave assurance to the development of what We now know as capitalism, imperialism, was the enslavement and transport of Afrikan people, **FROM** the Afrikan to other continents. Was the circumstances which led to the birth of New Afrika. The movement of Afrikan people **FROM** independence—**TO** independence, is what will end the life of the empire. No matter how hard it may be for some folks to accept right now.

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If it's true that whites want "struggle" without pain—and We say that it is—then it's because they don't want new life, don't really want a new order. It means they ain't really dis-satisfied with the present arrangement of power and property relations.

It also means that there is really no question of whether or not the white working class, or its so-called revolutionary m-l vanguard, do know who their "class enemy" is. They know. All romans knew caesar.